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ABSTRACT

This paper outlines a developmental self psychology for use by career counselors with career clients. It offers a definition of a psychological self, draws from the work of Mead, Vygotsky, and Kohut to develop an understanding of the processes involved in the development and internalization of a psychological self, and connects the work of career counselors in facilitating this environment to the clinical observations of Heinz Kohut for working with persons with deficits in the development of a psychological self. It is suggested that Kohut's theory is more comprehensive than Freud's. It is claimed that career counselors may actually see many more people with disorders of the self than is usually the case with psychoanalysts. The model presented works on heuristic assumptions that the characteristic behaviors and communications of career clients represent healthy developmental tendencies, and that career clients may be seen not as manifesting psychopathology, but more importantly as manifesting and communicating a highly intelligent and accurate intuitive perception of their own developmental needs, which the counselor's theory must find a way to interpret. The paper concludes that much research remains to be completed. (ABL)

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Developmental Career Counseling

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Abstract

Presents a conceptualization of a "psychological self" and an outline of its development which can be utilized within the framework of a goal-oriented career counseling. A developmental self psychology is suggested which draws from the author's integration of contributions of George Mead, Heinz Kohut, and Leon Vygotsky.

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Developmental Career Counseling

Developmental career counseling is career-development-focused, goal-oriented counseling in which the career counselor, working with a developmental self psychology, affords a career client, who presents with deficits in the development of a self, opportunities for development of the self within a framework of career counseling, so that the client will be able to resolve the career issues that brought that client to counseling. Developmental career counseling is designed to respond to the needs of the client who presents with deficits in self-conceptualization, deficits in self-direction, and often with deficits in self-esteem and self-assertiveness. Such a client is likely to say to the counselor: "I don't know what I want to do." "I don't know what I'm interested in." "I don't know what my skills or abilities are." Or, the client may say: "I know what I would like to do but I don't think I can do that. So now I don't know what to do." If the client already has experienced employment, the client might say: "I'm restless and dissatisfied with what I'm doing, but I don't know what to do about it."

This kind of developmental career counseling depends upon the counselor having a psychology of the development of the self, in which what "the self is" is clearly understood and how the self develops is clearly understood. An adequate developmental self psychology allows the counselor to conceptualize and observe what a client needs for the development of a psychological self, and allows the counselor to understand how and why a maturely developed self is a necessary prerequisite for career planning and career decision-making as these are described in the career literature. Career planning and career decision-making require a client to be able to see the self in relation to alternatives, and to see oneself in relation to hypothesized future situations. Deficits in the ability to conceptualize oneself, make conceptualization of oneself in relation to alternative presents or alternative futures impossible.

It will be the purpose of today's presentation to outline a psychology of the development of the self that will enable career counselors to understand the developmental needs of career clients who present with deficits in identity and deficits in the development of a psychological self, and that will enable career clients to meet those developmental needs, if the client is ready, as they present in career counseling, and to do so within the context of career counseling.

Such a role for the career counselor requires a rethinking and redefinition of the very nature of career counseling. Career counseling is what one does with career clients, in assisting them with career development issues. It is one's theory that determines how one understands career clients, and how one understands the processes entailed in career development. If one changes one's way of understanding career clients, that is, if one changes one's theory about career clients, one will

change, in that very process, what career counselors do with career clients, and hence will change what career counseling is. Career counseling should be determined by the needs of career clients. In practice, however, career counseling is determined by how the counselor understands the needs of career clients. It is the theory of career development and career counseling, in other words, that defines what career counseling is in practice. When one changes one's theory, one changes career counseling. This must be understood. To entertain a new theory, to entertain a psychology of the development of the self, one must expect to radically alter one's notion of what career counselors should do in counseling their clients.

The psychology of the developmental of the self that will be presented begins with a definition of what the self is. It then draws from the psychologies of George Mead, Leon Vygotsky, and Heinz Kohut, in addressing issues of how the self develops, of how the self can be conceptualized, and of how one makes sense of, or conceptualizes, the experiential, clinical manifestations of self-development processes.

Definition of the Self

What the self is has by no means been clarified in the literature on the self. I will therefore offer a definition of the self that I believe clarifies much of the confusion on this subject. Some say the self is the person or individual. This I would submit is true in itself, so far as it stands, but is not a definition of a psychological self. Much confusion has resulted from not differentiating the psychological "self" from the mere reflexive use of the term, as in "I hurt myself", or the intensive use of the term. as in "I myself did this." William James described the self as having two aspects: the "I", as the subjective center of experience, and the "me", as the object of self-reflection, as the object of a reflexive cognition. We have come to call the contents or end-products of the latter aspect self-concepts. Borrowing James's distinctions, we may initially say that the term "self" refers to both the subject or individual in the earlier sense, and the conceptualized products of reflexive activity of the "I" contemplating some dimension of itself, resulting in a self-concept.

Bringing this discussion back to the context of career counseling for a moment, one can routinely observe deficits in self-conceptualization in career clients: "I don't know who I am." "I don't know what I want." "I don't know what I want to do." "I don't know what my aptitudes are." Etc. These may be considered deficits in self-conceptualization, deficits in the second dimension of the self as James defined it.

Chris Kehas (1977) astutely observed in his critical analysis on the notion of self-concept, that there is something which is logically prior

to the self-concept, that is, a *process* of self-conceptualization. The process precedes the product.

I maintain that when one sees deficits in the product, one can infer deficits in the process that produces the product. On the other hand, when one sees the concrete evidence of the product, in this case in the form of adequate or abundant self-concepts, one can infer the existence of a process of self-conceptualization. This is an important distinction, for deficits in self-concept may be expected to result from deficits in the establishment, even, of processes of self-conceptualization. How does that process develop? This is really the critical question.

Career development theory was faulted many years ago by Ginzberg et al (1951), and Leonard Goodstein (1965), for not asking the question: "Why is it that persons of nineteen or twenty-five years of age and experience do not know what their interests, values, or skills are, while other people of apparently the same experience do?" This highly pertinent question has not been dealt with in career development theory, but is at the heart of the problem of problems in career development as they present to both career clients and career counselors.

It has become a convention in structural psychology to refer to the stable development of processes as a structure (e.g., Blasi, 1976). The "structure" in this case, is the "stable development of a process". Analogies can be made here. One speaks, for example, of correctly structuring one's expectations for a situation. One can handle the situation better when one has correctly structured expectations. The structure is a pattern. Software programs for computers, such as a word-processing program, establish structures of directions for the central processor, so it will know what to do with keyboard inputs and screen displays so that the computer will know what to do with the structures or patterns we recognize as words. Once you structure the computer's directions in the form of software, a computer can handle and manipulate words of any kind or any meaning with great facility. Raising children involves facilitating their acquiring effective structures of meaning, as in recognizing words, or in recognizing feelings or social cues, so that they can function in their worlds with great flexibility and effectiveness.

But some children become more effective in society than others. Career counselors deal frequently with those erstwhile children who are having more than the usual difficulty in meaningfully interpreting their experience in society, and more than the usual difficulty in finding a way to effectively meet their needs in that society. I would suggest that this greater than usual difficulty stems from the lack of adequate structuring in their personalities, or lack of having learned how to adequately process their experience meaningfully. If one cannot conceptualize oneself, or differentiate important dimensions of oneself, one cannot, by

conscious design, have a whole lot of control over determining or constructing a viable and satisfying interface with one's social environment.

The development of a psychological self, I would propose, entails the stable establishment of meaningful structures and processes of self-conceptualization, and taking one's unique self-experience as an object of reflection and conceptualization. It is only with conceptualization that one's whole experience becomes adequately differentiated into logical, meaningful, linguistic categories that can be manipulated by conscious thought.

My recommendation, therefore, is that we think in terms of not just "self" but more specifically of "the psychological self". The psychological self here is defined as the stable establishment of intrapsychic processes of self-objectification, of taking the self as the object of subjective activity. This may be in the form of conceptualization, but has other forms as well, which enable self-regulation. One has to be able to reflexively take oneself as an object of an intrapsychic action in order to soothe one's anxiety, or to esteem oneself realistically. Self-assertion is facilitated by being able to objectively contemplate what it is about one self that one would like to assert, and to be able to do so in a way that would make objectifiable sense to another person.

To bring this back again to the clinical realm of career counseling and career clients, it has been noted in the literature that problems associated with career floundering, career immaturity, career indecisiveness, and identity problems--all forms of lack of career direction--are also associated with anxiety (Hawkins, Bradley, & White, 1977; Kimes & Troth, 1974; Mendonca & Siess, 1976), shifting and unstable self-concepts (Holland & Holland, 1977), deficits in self-esteem and self-assertion (Korman, 1966; 1967a; 1969), and deficits in self-concepts (Jordaan & Heyde, 1979; Fuqua & Hartman, 1983). I propose that a developmental stage is involved in these problems. Specifically, the lack of the developmental attainment of a psychological self, or alternatively, a lack of a stable establishment of internalized processes of self-objectification, such as are required as a prerequisite for self-conceptualization, self-direction, self-esteem, or self-soothing.

Mead's Contribution

George Mead (1934) made a contribution in conceptualizing how the self develops, and in noting that the self has a development. Adopting his view, one would have to discriminate the developmental status of the self in an individual. It is possible, for example, that one does not yet have a self in this sense. For individuals who are lacking in the development of a self--which I propose we clarify here as lack of development of a psychological self--then one would have to look, if one wants to address the problems in career development, to the normal processes by

which what I call a psychological self, or what Mead simply calls the "self", is developed. Mead addresses this issue, and is worth reading on this count. He describes the development of the self as dependent upon verbalized communication with other people. It initially takes the verbalized feedback or reflections of self from other people for an individual to develop a capacity or experiential foundation for seeing oneself objectively. I will refer you to Mead's discussion of the self in Mind, self, and society for further elaboration of this point.

Vygotsky's Contribution

Vygotsky (1978) makes a contribution to our understanding of how interpersonal processes, such as those described by Mead, become eventually internalized, becoming transformed in the process to internalized or intrapsychic--or, "psychological"--processes. Vygotsky addressed this issue in his book on the development of higher psychological functions. The main idea there is that psychological or intrapsychic processes develop as an internalization of processes that are first inter-psychological or inter-psychic. One has to experience, consistently over a period of time, the inter-psychological processes, as a prerequisite for the eventual internalization of those processes, or analogous processes. Vygotsky explains that this internalization is itself transformative. That a new internalized capability develops that is qualitatively different from the external, inter-psychological experiances. Vygotsky is not talking only of the development of the internalized process that enable self conceptualization, or self objectification, but his understanding of the development of higher psychological functions can be applied, in my opinion, to the processes involved in the development of a psychological self as I have defined it.

Vygotsky then adds to Mead's definition and conceptualization of the self, a further elaboration of processes also discussed by Mead, as to how the self develops. Applying these concepts to career clients and career counseling so far would imply the following: that verbalized communication of an inter-psychological nature, that accurately reflects or correlates with the subjective experience of an individual, sustained over an adequate period of time, could be expected to lead to the development, in a career client who has a deficit in this area, of a psychological self. Vygotsky would add that this psychological self involves an experience and functional capability that is qualitatively different from, yet dependent upon and derived from, the consistently sustained verbalized inter-psychic communication between client and counselor. This aspect of a developmental psychology of the self carries with it the necessary implication that career counseling that is designed to meet the needs of a career client for development of a psychological self would necessarily have to be a longer term kind of counseling than is the norm with a theory of career counseling that holds that what career clients need is more information on careers or more information on decision-making strategies.

It does address somewhat, however, the finding in a number of career research studies, that career counseling strategies that focus on giving more career information or more information on decision-making strategies do not effectively meet the needs of the career clients who have the most difficulty.

The Contributions of Kohut

The process of meeting the needs of a client in the area of the development of a psychological self has been addressed at some length by Heinz Kohut (1971, 1977) and Kohut & Wolf (1978). Kohut describes attitudes--which he calls transferences, following a psychoanalytic tradition--of a person toward a significant other--read counselor here--which signify that a client has such a developmental need and is ready to move forward toward a higher level of psychological development. Kohut and others have described such persons as narcissistic, or self-absorbed. Later, however, after developing his self psychology, Kohut (1984) preferred to describe such persons as having either a deficit or disturbance in the development of the self. His psychology has a wealth of information on how a counselor might conceptualize, in close-to-experience terms, what the client is experiencing, needing, and communicating. There will not be time here to describe all that Kohut had to say about working with persons who manifest in counseling evidence of a developmental tendency and need toward development of a psychological self. I would maintain, however, that what he had to say is of the utmost relevance for a developmental psychology of the self suitable for career counselors.

Consider, for example, Kohut's conceptualization of the structure of the self. He described the cohesiveness and organization of the psychological self as revolving around two poles, one representing society and one representing the individual, and together representing the individual's intrapsychic organization of his relationship to society. The individual pole of this bi-polar pattern organization involves the energies of self-esteem and healthy self-assertiveness, a kind of exhibitionistic aspect of self: "me", "here I am". The societal pole takes the form of internalized values, goals, and sense of direction, determining how, where, when, etc. one becomes self-assertive or esteems oneself in relation to the society in which one finds oneself. One develops and organizes one's talents, skills, and abilities, in the tension and interaction between these two poles. I am paraphrasing Kohut here, using some of my own concepts in elaborating his psychology as I feel it relates to career counseling. The sum of his view of the intrapsychic structure of the psychological self, however, is that it deals with the individuals perceptions and internal organization of self-esteem, self-assertiveness, talents, skills, abilities, values, goals, and self-direction. One can recognize therein that his psychology of the self would be of the utmost relevance and usefulness to career counselors. The study of Kohut can be a study in itself.

relevance and usefulness to career counselors. The study of Kohut can be a study in itself.

I will not attempt to describe Kohut's self psychology further here than to indicate its most basic outline and to indicate its general relevance to career clients and career counseling. Kahn (1985) has made a helpful comparison of Kohut's theory with that of Carl Rogers. It should be noted here, however, that Kohut described as disorders of the self the phenomenon of having deficits clustering around one or both poles of the self. This means, therefore, that using Kohut's theory, career clients who present with deficits in self-esteem, self-assertiveness, self-direction, and/or deficits in self-conceptualization of their talents, skills, and abilities, such as are routinely encountered by career counselors, have what Kohut describes as disorders of the self. His self psychology is made to order to working with this population. It has not been generally recognized, however, by either career theorists or psychoanalytic theorists, the extent to which career counselors in our country probably routinely see more clients with disorders of the self than do psychoanalysts of perhaps any setting, and that although developed by a psychoanalytic clinician, the theory is equally if not more relevant to career counselors in their settings.

Differences from Kohut's Theory

There are important differences, however, between Kohut's self psychology and the self psychology proposed here for use with career clients. To begin with, Kohut, does not have a clear definition of the psychological self such as has been proposed here. Kohut does not relate his conceptualizations, to my knowledge, to those of George Mead or Leon Vygotsky. Kohut does not clearly propose that one might have clients who have never experienced an initial development of the self such as is suggested here and by Mead. Kohut himself has a developmental history as a theorist. He initially developed his theory within the confines of a classical Freudian psychoanalytic matrix. Increasingly, however, he developed his theory as an alternative to classical Freudian theory.

Much controversy and confusion has attended attempts to reconcile or integrate Kohut's theory with Freud's. I know of none who have considered what I consider to be the appropriate relation of Kohut's theory to Freud's. In my opinion, Kohut's is the more comprehensive and adequate framework. One should not even attempt to put Kohut's theory into the context of Freud's theory. Only confusion and frustration will result from such attempts. One should put Freud's theory into the context of Kohut's theory, not the other way around. In this arrangement, Kohut viewed, as I do, the self as the main principal construct in a human psychology. Freud did not have a concept of the self (e.g., see Schafer, 1976) . It might be said, therefore, in the light of Kohut's theory, that Freud's theory missed the main point in a human psychology. One might

even say, that Freud presented in his theory a deficit or disturbance in the development of the self. Freud's model of the mind presents, therefore, a disorder of the self, a disturbance and deficit in the development of a healthy self. Freud's theory, therefore, would not be of much use for counselors in helping a client develop a healthy self. There would be no conceptualization of such a healthy self, or its development, much less its therapy, in Freud's theory. The author (O'Brien, 1989) has addressed some of these issues in a dissertation entitled: "Freud's Oedipus Complex: A Reappraisal of its Meaning", submitted to the Boston University Graduate School of Education in January of 1989.

In light of confusion that attends many concepts borrowed by Kohut from classical psychoanalytic theory, I have attempted, in my own formulations of a developmental psychology of the self, not only to clarify the concept of a psychological self, and of its development, but I have also taken the liberty of suggesting substitutions for some of Kohut's concepts. The borrowed Freudian concept of transference is a loaded and confused concept, for example. It is adequate to the needs of the career counselor in reading Kohut to substitute for Kohut's notion of transference the simple concept of "attitudes of the client toward the counselor". Thus, when Kohut describes a mirroring transference, one can think of the career client who seems to want the counselor to mirror, or reflect back, aspects of how the client is conceptualizing, or making sense of, his experience. Likewise, what Kohut describes as an idealizing transference can just as well be described as an attitude of the client toward the counselor in which the client seems to see the counselor as representing some ideal or ideals in the mind of the client. There need be no implication of distortion, inappropriateness, or psychopathology in this. Psychoanalytic theory generally has built up, in my opinion, a tradition of denigrating and devaluing normal and recurrent client behavior patterns as some form of very serious and extreme psychopathology. There is no inherent reason, however, why these characteristic attitudes of clients in a particular stage of development, need to be considered to represent psychopathology of any sort. They might, in fact, more appropriately, be conceptualized as healthy developmental tendencies. Quite a difference.

In the developmental self psychology that is proposed here, the assumption is made with clients who manifest a deficit in development of the self, only that they did not attain a more mature and satisfying level of development because the requisite kind and quality of interpersonal or inter-psychological experience was not available to them in their previous environments, or was not available in a consistent and sustained enough fashion so as to enable the development of the higher psychological functions in Vygotsky's sense, with regard to their psychological selves. The concurrent assumption is made that the making available to such persons the right kind and quality of relationship, as for example in a situation structured as a career counseling relationship, would afford the

opportunity for the belated development of the psychological self of the client.

I believe that the tendency in psychoanalytic theory generally to pathologize the needs and behaviors of the client has as its primary tendency a negative impact on the client's ability to constructively use the relationship for the development of a healthy self. What can develop in these circumstances, however, is the internalization of a pathologized sense of self, one that accurately, however, mirrors the psychoanalytic theoretical view of the client. This is destructive to the client. In recommending a certain borrowing from Kohut theory as a psychoanalytic self psychologist, therefore, I am recommending that counselors and counseling psychologists bring and retain their own characteristic positive, developmental view of clients, and refrain from unnecessarily importing the toxic pathologizing elements characteristic of so much of psychoanalytic theoretical analysis. Career and mental health counselors and counseling psychologists have much to offer the traditional fields of psychiatry, clinical psychology, and psychoanalysis by bringing such an alternative healthy view of clients' normal developmental needs and characteristic behaviors.

Assessment of Clients' Needs

Developmental career counseling begins with an assessment of the client's needs using as a framework a psychology of the development of the self. If the career counselor sees, for example, that a career client is manifesting a consistent pattern which is characterized by deficits in self-regulation of anxiety and self-esteem, and deficits in conceptualization of important personal characteristics such as a sense of one's interests, skills, abilities, values, needs, and goals, one should be prepared to entertain the hypothesis that this particular client may be lacking in the development of a psychological self.

Where this is the case, the client is likely to show an external orientation of turning to the career counselor for answers to questions one ultimately can only answer for oneself, questions such as: "What do I want in life? What do I want to do for a career?" Such a client intuitively expects a career counselor to be able to help answer such questions. Two scenarios often result, however, from this expectation of the counselor. In one, the counselor informs the client he or she cannot answer that question, that the client must answer it for him or her self. The client may be frustrated and confused in this case. Or, in the other, the counselor attempts to inform the client what the counselor thinks the client wants or should do. Hopefully this is based on a sensitive assessment of input from the client. The client is likely, however, at the point of receiving this input from the counselor, to reject it, no matter how good it is. The counselor then might become frustrated and confused,

thinking the client is asking for help but rejected all help that is offered. The counselor labels this client the "Yes, but..." client.

The resolution of this apparent conflict between career client and career counselor can often be found, however, in ultimately believing in the wisdom of both behaviors of the client. The client does have a strictly personal question to answer, and does need the external help of the counselor in answering what ultimately must be an internal answer. The client therefore systematically rejects external answers to the question, while continuing to attempt to engage the empathic attention and interest of the counselor. The client intuitively knows that more attention, external interest, and empathic verbalized feedback from the counselor will be needed before the client will be able, on his or her own, in an internalized way, to answer the questions being discussed in the interpersonal, inter-psychological way with the career counselor. Both Mead and Vygotsky, although not specifically with respect to career counseling, had insight into the developmental needs and patterns exhibited by such client. When the client rejects counselor feedback yet continues to seek counselor feedback, the client is absolutely right on target in seeking to meet his or her own internal developmental need. Meeting that need well enough for long enough ultimately leads to the intrapsychic development of a psychological self, with which, from that point on, the person or client in question will be able to meet her own needs with regard to self-conceptualization, self-regulation, and self-direction.

This development of internalization of function is in no way tantamount to saying that the client will no longer need people, or external dialogue, or empathic interaction. On the contrary, this development brings with it a new ability to use feedback from others in the service of self-direction and self-conceptualization. It is this internalized capability that allows the individual to relate to others with mutuality rather than from one of the two extremes of narcissism or egocentricity on the one hand, or excessive deference and compliance on the other hand.

Although in many ways an analogy to computers is not appropriate for describing human interactions, in one way a comparison to the contribution of computer software to the structuring of a computer's internal processing is not irrelevant here. When one loads wordprocessing or spreadsheet software, for example, into a computer's memory, doing so does not by any means imply that the computer no longer needs input from the keyboard or other input devices. What it means is that the computer now is ready, as never before, to make meaningful and effective use of the input it gets from the keyboard. While the computer, now structured in its processing patterns by the software, not only continues to need external input and almost eagerly awaits such input, the input it receives can be in discrete and fragmentary form. The computer adds to this input its own instruc-

tions for processing that input and then produces outputs that have been constructed into something entirely new and more meaningful and useful. Correlatively, when humans are capable of more complex forms of internal processing of input from self and other, such as occurs with the development of a psychological self, they become not only more "self-centered", but more flexible, adaptive, and complex in their interactions with their environment, and better able to communicate with others in more complex ways.

This relationship of self-development of productive and effective social relationships is often not understood by those who bewail the perils of self-absorption or narcissism in society. Often it is those who berate, denigrate, punish, devalue, or otherwise discourage "selfish" behavior who are responsible for frustrating and thwarting the very self-preoccupied behaviors which, when welcomed and responded to empathically, can facilitate and allow the mature development of the psychological self which alone allows an individual to function maturely and adequately in society. The problem is a serious and compound one because someone who has not personally attained the development of a psychological self in the sense described here cannot empathize with someone's else's newly developing psychological self. Yet, the theories of Kohut, Mead, Vygotsky, and that proposed here, require the empathic interpersonal, inter-psychological, objectified responses of others in order to develop the internalized capacity for empathy with oneself and objectified responses to oneself that is called "the psychological self".

It is the goal of a psychology of the development of the self, to give the career counselor the ability to meaningfully conceptualize, or "make sense of", the many behaviors and characteristics one sees in career clients so that the counselor can respond in synchrony to the client's developmental needs. Thus when a career client finds a way to demonstrate or articulate to the counselor such qualities of experiencing as low self-esteem, anxiety, deficits in conceptualization and assertiveness, the client is actually doing so because of an intuitive awareness that these characteristics and behaviors are somehow relevant both to their presenting dilemma and to the resolution of that dilemma. I have yet to encounter a career or personal counseling client who has presented information to me in counseling that was not in some important and significant way related to both the presenting problem and its resolution. I have often been amazed at the resourcefulness and efficiency of clients in this regard.

The trick and task for the counselor is always one of how to meaningfully make sense of all of the data that the client is presenting. Inadequate theories, that conceptualize only fragments of the total, have the effect of blinding counselors to all information presented by the client that the theory pays no heed to. As Einstein once said, theory determines what we see. It is crucial for effective career counseling,

therefore, for the counselor to be able to develop a theory that makes sense of all that is presented. It helps in this regard to presume, for heuristic purposes, that the client, no matter what the presenting problem, is a highly intelligent being, possessing an intelligence that has proven its survival value over millions of years of empirical testing in which only the fittest survived. If a behavior of a client seems to not make sense, it is much more likely, in this perspective, that what appears to not make sense to the counselor would tend to be a function not of the craziness, psychopathology, immaturity, erroneous ideas or pathological thinking of the client, but rather would be a function of the inadequacies of the theory of the counselor. In this view, the counselor can improve his or her theory by paying respectful attention to all communications and behaviors of the client, and by trying to "make sense of" what one can observe to be happening. Another implication of this approach is that career counselors could expect that adequate theory of career counseling is most likely to come from career counselors, not from strictly academic theorists or researchers, as the career literature often presumes.

It is recommended that Kohut's descriptions of the clinical manifestations of deficits in the development of the self, such as the "idealizing" or "mirroring" "attitudes" of the client, should be routinely utilized by career counselors in assessing the needs of their clients. It should be remembered in this regard, that clients who cannot accurately conceptualize their interests, goals, values, skills, etc., cannot engage in career planning or career decision-making strategies which rely on conceptualizing or visualizing oneself-in-relation-to-various-alternatives, whether present or future. If one cannot conceptualize important parts of self, a necessary part of any career decision-making strategy is simply not available to the client, and can be expected to remain unavailable to the client until the more mature development of "the psychological self" is in place. To conceptualize adequately for career planning purposes, it is not necessary, although it can help, that the client be able to specifically use the differentiated conceptual categories of interests, values, skills, etc. It is only necessary that the client be able to be able to symbolize in some objectified way something that the client feels would be right or suitable. This symbolic objectification may occur for many people in a more visual or intuitive than verbal way. One may only experience an intuitive and more global knowing of what one wants to do, but that has to have some concrete manner of objectification. A trucker, for example, may know he or she wants to drive a truck for a living, and may take appropriate steps without necessarily being able to verbalize that preference in terms of component "aptitudes", "interests", "values", or "goals" that constitute the particular jargon of career counselors, researchers, educators, test developers, publishers, and/or affiliated marketing specialists.

Summary

In summary, what has been presented here is only an outline of a developmental self psychology for use by career counselors with career clients. It offers a definition of a psychological self, and draws from the work of Mead, Vygotsky, and Kohut to flesh out an understanding of the processes involved in the development and internalization of a psychological self, and connects the work of career counselors in facilitating this environment to the clinical observations of Heinz Kohut for working with persons with deficits in the development of a psychological self. At the same time as it draws from Kohut's theory, however, it views Kohut's theory in terms significantly different from those in which Kohut himself saw his own theory. Specifically it attempts to disconnect Kohut's theory from its moorings in classical psychoanalytic theory. It is suggested that Kohut's theory is more comprehensive than Freud's, and presents a picture of healthy as well as deficient development. Freud's theory lacked a conception of a psychological self, and may actually be better viewed as a conceptual model of both a deficit and disturbance in the development of the self. Career counselors, contrary to conventional thinking, may actually see many more people, numerically speaking, with disorders of the self than is usually the case with psychoanalysts or psychoanalytic therapists. The model presented works on heuristic assumptions that the characteristic behaviors and communications of career clients represent healthy developmental tendencies, and that career clients may be seen not as manifesting psychopathology, but more importantly as manifesting and communicating a highly intelligent and accurate intuitive perception of their own developmental needs, which the counselor's theory must find a way to interpret. The outline of a developmental self psychology for career counselors presented here is intended only to point to a meaningful path for a theory of a developmental approach to career counseling. Much remains to be filled-in in the brief outline presented here. It is hoped that a beginning theoretical dialogue can be begun, based on the points presented in this outline, that will ultimately benefit both career clients and career counselors.

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